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He thinks the matter over.



He sees his mother gossiping with another woman on the far side of the verandah.

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He goes to her and throws himself on the ground kicking and screaming.



Noticing my interest the mother laughs, picks him up, but does not feed him.

1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944

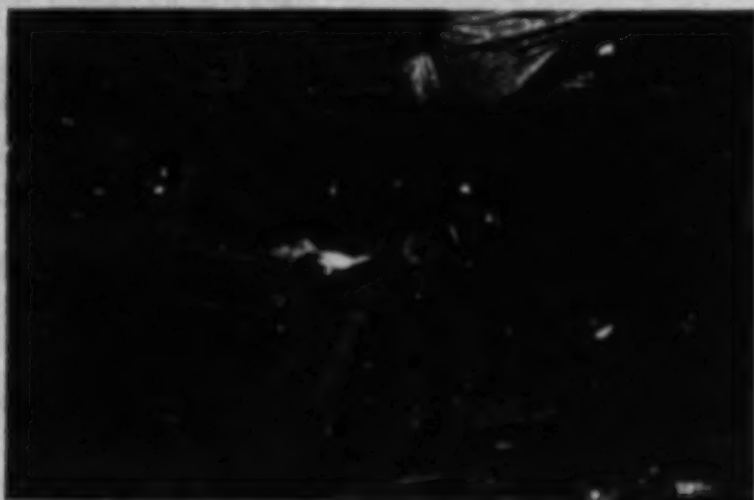
OF5 Alor OF5



Padan begs food from a child
in his mother's carrying shawl.



He loses his balance but contin-
ues to beg.



He tries rage to attract the woman's attention.

Infancy

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the infant may give it premeditated food or gruel more or less con-253
scientiously, but the frequency with which infants grow out such
nourishment suggests that the feeding is neither very effective nor sa-
tisfactory. One repeatedly sees infants trying to nurse at the breast of a
father or immature sibling, who pushes them away gently with an atti-
tude of mild embarrassment.

Sometimes the mother may have a sister or other near kin who also
is nursing a child. For a day or two at a time the other woman may take
over the care and feeding of both infants, nursing the two simultane-
ously. I have seen this occur only three times. It is worth noting, how-
ever, that other women's breasts are accessible to a child. Certainly
every child has been nursed by a number of adult women at one time
or another. But these substitutes are no more consistently available
than the mother herself.

During the prewalking period the child spends most of its day half-354
sitting, half lying, in a carrying shawl that is slung over one shoulder
and under the opposite arm to form a sort of elongated pouch. The
carrying shawl supports the infant's head and legs. Here it frequently
sleeps as the cartmaker wanders about the village. If sleep becomes
sound, the child may be laid on the verandah in its shawl. Proper care
demands that it should not be left alone even though it is asleep. If it
wakes and cries it should be picked up as soon as possible. "Children
should not be allowed to cry for long because it makes them sick. 355
People say children's voices are not strong and if they cry for long
they get sore throats." To place a child on the ground is considered
gross neglect. One of the pieces of evidence adduced to prove that an
outcast woman called Matiguna was "crazy," was the fact that she
took her child to the field with her and permitted it to sleep on the
ground. This convention may have its origin in the recognized danger
to infants from pigs, dogs, and pig lice, which are plentiful around any
house verandah, but it has been so generalized that Matiguna's treat-
ment of her child was strongly condemned even though these hazards
were not present in the fields.

When the mother returns from the field in the late afternoon, she 356
usually takes the child immediately to nurse and fondle. For the rest of
the evening the child is either in the mother's carrying shawl or on her
lap. When the mother is at home and not too busy, she will offer the
breast whenever the child is restless. Unfortunately, I made no inquiries
about devices the women use to relieve themselves of the pressure on
their breasts during the day. I never heard a woman speak of the pleasure
of nursing, which probably means no more than that the culture has
not emphasized this particular aspect of physical satisfaction.

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55 morning until about five in the afternoon without regular provision for
 54 food. This does not mean that it is left entirely without food; but all it
 gets are the odd bits older children cook, more or less generously, when
 it begs or screams for them.

Again of course there are marked variations in children's experiences
 in this respect. There may be a solicitous older sister who can be spared
 from field work and who provides relatively good care, or there may
 be a grandmother who works less hard and frequently in the gardens.
 In any case, after a child has learned to walk, its disappointments with
 respect to feeding are increased, and simultaneously it loses the constant
 handling and support characteristic of the first stage of its life. That
 the acquisition of its first skill in the independent mastery of the outer
 [13] world—namely, walking—should be associated with severe deprivation
 may well have marked repercussions in the realm of ego develop-
 ment.

562 To add to the strain of this period and to reinforce it, the weaning
 of the child may be hastened because another sibling is expected. Only
 rarely does one see a child of three or four still nursing, and when one
 does, it can be assumed that it is because no younger child has been
 born into the family. It is an exception for a mother to permit an older
 child to take the breast when she has a younger one to nurse. Weaning
 is done gradually and simply by pushing the child gently away from
 the breast. If the child is insistent it will perhaps be slapped. Should it
 still insist, it may be sent to live in the household of a kin, and "he for-
 gets in two or three nights." It is considered desirable to have weaning
 completed at least a month before the next child is born. If another
 pregnancy does not occur, it is assumed that children gradually wean
 themselves. "They think of other foods and forget the breast."

562 In connection with weaning, a mother sometimes uses a mild form
 565 of adult teasing, nursing a strange infant to arouse jealousy in her own
 growing child. For example, Puhafan had almost entirely given up the
 breast when one day he saw his mother nursing the child of a kin-
 woman. He began to whimper and tried to climb up on her lap. Not
 until he had worked himself into a rage and had begun striking the in-
 fant, did the mother willingly surrender the strange child and pick up
 Puhafan to let him nurse. The adults are fully aware of infantile jeal-
 ousy and they derive a mild amusement from it. Despite this, custom
 makes weaning as easy as possible for the child, and if it were not for
 its frequent association with the appearance of another sibling and for
 the cumulative effects of various other factors operating at this period,
 the weaning situation might well be considered nontraumatic. Food,

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Pad, however, does remain throughout life a focus of insanity, as subsequent material will demonstrate.* In this connection, a free play episode in which Padafan was the center is revealing. I had brought out to the dance place several balloons, which delighted the children. Padafan, being so small, was pushed repeatedly to the edge of the crowd that clustered around me, but each time he persistently pushed his way in again and held out his hand, saying, "Give, give," as I had seen him do often in connection with food. I gave him a balloon but the older children snatched it from him. Finally I gave him another, a cat-faced balloon, and told the group that this one was for Padafan alone. They stood back in a circle to watch.

After turning the balloon in his hands for a few minutes Padafan discovered the two conical projections that formed its ears. Immediately he thrust one in his mouth and began to nurse. The older children burst into excited laughter, saying, "He is nursing" (*debulu*; literally, he drinks of it). Padafan, slightly abashed by the uproar, withdrew the balloon from his mouth, whereupon the children redoubled their shouts, urging him to continue sucking.

After approximately a minute the somewhat slyer Awomasi, who was Padafan's age, joined the group. I took the balloon from Padafan and gave it to Awomasi, who did not suck on it, despite the urging of the older children. Padafan's reaction at this point was interesting. He made no effort to get the plaything back, but threw himself on the ground, where he screamed with rage. Finally I recovered the balloon and gave it to him. For a minute or two he refused to accept it and went on raging. Only when he saw that no one else was taking it and that it lay on the ground within reach, did he roll over, pick it up, and begin once more to suck on it. Strangely enough, when the balloon burst in his face a few moments later, Padafan looked greatly surprised but did not cry or protest.

In view of the picture I have drawn of food difficulties and waning as they might be interpreted in terms of current psychological theories, one might expect a good deal of finger sucking during this period. Actually it does not seem any more prevalent, if as prevalent, as it is among ourselves. It is to be observed only occasionally for any one child and is far from common to all children. When it does occur, it consists both of thumb sucking and of thrusting the first two or three fingers of the hand, palm downward, deep into the mouth. It is a habit

* A nice, although trivial, illustration is that the natives named my reporting revolver, with whose lethal qualities they were quite familiar, "the gun with six mouths."

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matter-of-fact rather than punishing—unless, of course, the child rebels at this experience, has a tantrum, and annoys the parent. Bathing, however, does not occur very frequently in most households, certainly not more often than every two or three days.

In addition to normal discomfort, yaws, which are so prevalent in childhood, may present an aggravating factor that makes a bath a painful experience. In the early stage of the disease the body, including often the lips and the genitals, may be covered with lesions, which smart acutely in contact with water. Children with yaws will scream

with pain and rage when they are bathed. However, since all sorts of infections may set in and since there is a pusy discharge from the lesions, parents usually feel it necessary to keep the child clean. To make matters worse, in recent years some parents have been buying from

Chinese traders on the coast a caustic powder, which they apply to the wounds to dry them. There can be no doubt that the application of this medicine causes extreme pain, and since it is put on after bathing, there must be in the minds of many children an association between baths and the intense pain inflicted by the mothers.

Fulani, a little girl of about five, was a case in point. For weeks she had been having rages of hysterical intensity in connection with baths and the caustic treatment of her yaws. The attacks would set in before the mother began to wash her and continued often for twenty minutes, by actual timing, after the bath. They usually subsided only when she was in a state of complete physical exhaustion. During the rages she would scream, strike at her mother, and jump up and down. After the bath she would refuse to allow her mother to comfort her. Strangely enough she made no effort to run away, perhaps because she realized the futility of doing so.

Some weeks later the doctor from the coast visited the mountain, and Fulani was given an injection that healed her wounds within about seven days. However, the tantrums associated with bathing continued for weeks after her sores were healed. On one occasion she raged half an hour after the end of the bath. Her mother held her while a man poured the water on her as though it were all a fine game. When the child was clean, the mother put her to dry on the veranda of a guest-house, where she rolled about screaming, kicking, striking out, and banging her head on the floor. Another man passed by and threatened to pour more water on her if she didn't stop, a threat that had no effect and which he did not carry out.

Another child, who had been calmer about his bath, was brought up to shame Fulani into silence. This too had no effect. Her small brother

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of about eighteen months, who had been watching the whole proceed-365
ing, was picked up by the mother and nursed. Finally, when Fuifani
had quieted down somewhat, her mother tried gently to lead her home,
but Fuifani broke out again, struck at her mother, and called her an
evil spirit. When the child's convulsive sobbing had again stopped, a little
playmate of about eight began poking Fuifani gently and playfully,
but she did not respond and once more tears began to roll down her
face.

Even where yaws do not make the bath painful, children who are 152
still not very sure of their balance and who run over rough ground all 353
day without clothes on, have a certain number of inevitable cuts and
bruises, which smart when exposed to water. Another factor making
for discomfort is that the women have exceedingly calloused hands
and, by and large, impressed me as being singularly rough in rub-
bing down their children. This lack of gentleness in touch was also
impressed on me when my native houseboys assisted me in dressing
wounds. It was so marked that I could never entrust to them any
very painful cases, for fear the patients would prefer their wounds to
the treatment.

SEX

Sex experiences during this early period of childhood seem confined 364
to masturbation, which goes on freely in public. Little boys are com-
monly seen standing on the fringe of an adult group manipulating their
penes with complete self-engrossment. Sex knowledge, as contrasted
with sex experiences, at this time is completely accessible to children,
since the common living room affords no privacy and there is no at-
tempt to modify adult conversation when children are present. Al-
though I have no direct evidence to this effect, it seems improbable
that knowledge of intercourse and birth as well as the terminology is not
the commonplace property of five-year-old children.

SLEEPING

Sleeping habits for early childhood continue the pattern of close 355
physical contact that was present in infancy. If the child is the last 513
born, it may go on sleeping with the mother up to the age of seven or
eight. If it is displaced by the birth of another, it will sleep with an
older sibling of either sex or with some adult. The lack of regular hab-
its of sleep should be stressed, since this parallels a point to be made in
connection with discipline. At night a household is roused at least once
and frequently oftener by some member who has dreamed and gets up

555 to replenish the fire and tell his dream to the household. Often a pot is
513 placed on the fire for a midnight snack at this time.

There is also a good deal of movement in the village at night. Men have been out discussing finance; boys have been out courting, and when they return there is inevitably a certain amount of disturbance.

[53] There are also the night dances, which average one every eight days throughout the year, and during the dry season from June through October may average as many as one every five or six nights. Many

[57] children even of five years or less are taken to these dances and they watch what sleep they can.

Those who can be left at home in someone's care must sleep less soundly because of the coming and going and the sound of singing all night. It is a common sight to see children taking cat naps at all times. Sometimes they lean back between the legs or against the side of a seated parent who is chatting with guests. Often they crawl off under the eaves with small companions and doze for a time, only to wake up and rejoin the adults. Toddlers learn to sleep anytime and anywhere except on the ground, which they already know is taboo. Children barely two or three years old are often seen sleeping quite alone on a verandah during the day. Their rest even more than their food is a matter of small concern and casual attention from adults.

TALKING

568 Satisfactory information on talking is scant. When crying for at-
tention most children of one or two years will intersperse their cries
with rhythmic wails that sound as though they were trying to say,
[195] "Mother, mother, alack, alas (*nia, nia, adiye, adiye*)," which is the
formalized type of wailing used by adults, especially women, in con-
nection with deaths and catastrophes. These words are used also as gen-
eral expressions of consternation. In terms of adult psychology, it is
interesting that the cry of distress should, by formalization, be directed
to the mother.

Another word that is learned very early is the imperative for give
(*mo*). Children who are just beginning to walk can be seen holding out
their hands, usually in the direction of food, and saying "Mo!" over
and over again. There is little doubt that children from two to four
years are in command of sufficient vocabulary to make their wishes
195 known. Under the stimulus of rage even five-year-olds are quite fluent
868 in their use of imprecations. One little boy whose aunt was trying to
865 make him carry a basket to his mother when he was more interested in
playing, turned on her and said, "Evil spirit, evil spirit! May you have

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dysentery; may you have smallpox!" (*Kari berka, kari berka! Asi [195] berka, tapaka berka!*) Quite apart from the fluency this implies, it was 868 a singularly bad bit of cursing, since both are particularly dreaded dis- 865 cases. To make matters worse his grandfather had just died of dysentery and everyone in the household was afraid of the ghost.

My evidence for early speech is confined largely to imprecations during temper tantrums, since in most other respects small children were quite shy in attempting to talk. They were to be seen occasionally addressing a few words quietly to an age-mate or asking an older person for something. There was no direct speech training given by adults. In fact, there was a definite pattern of ridiculing the mistakes of children and teasing them about such errors. Children have to pick up speech through the absorptive processes of hearing older people talk and having instructions addressed to them.

DISCIPLINE

This brings us to another element that enters in early childhood and 857 may continue through the entire life of the less assertive adults, especially women. As soon as a child can toddle about and understand commands, it may be sent on errands and ordered by any adult to give small services. In early childhood such services consist of little more than fetching and carrying things at hand. There is no equivalent of *please* or *thank you* in the Abul language, and the tone of voice in which such services are requested is clearly peremptory. As the anecdote just told in connection with talking indicates, children soon learn to rebel. De- [865] mands and modes of escape are more clearly developed in late childhood (see Chapter 5), but pressure and resistance are established early.

Since the Alorese have few sacred objects, commands are not loaded 858 with prohibitions. Not all houses contain an ancestral hearth or other 861 sacred objects that children are supposed to avoid. There is little feeling of sacredness attached to any paraphernalia, and taboo restrictions are few and casually observed, so that no heavy burden of learning along these lines is placed on small children. Already at this stage children are not so much debarred from adult activity as given no role in it. This means that such learning as goes on is largely in terms of restrictive discipline and absorption, rather than permissive discipline or deliberate training.

The preceding paragraphs adumbrate the system of shame, ridicule, 861 and teasing that older children and adults use in dealing with their 865 juniors. For instance, it was quite common when children were crying, for mothers to say, "Shame. Don't you see So-and-so is here and sees

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861 you cry." This was true for tears provoked by fright as well as by
 ● 865 other causes, when comforting and reassuring the child might seem more pertinent.

855 Again, this system appears more clearly in an older age group (see
 865 Chapter 5), but the pattern is set in early childhood. It is customary, for instance, to prod and tug at toddlers in a good-natured and affectionate fashion. One favorite form of such handling is to tug the penes of small boys and to poke fingers or arrows into their distended abdomens or in the direction of their crotches. Under such treatment a child often becomes mildly irritable and aggressive, but any show of temper on his part is greeted with laughter and encouragement in the form of recommendations like "Hit him!" "Kill him!" This encouragement to indulge in physical violence is as inappropriate a form of training for adult life, especially for boys, as can well be imagined. Physical

[157] violence in adult men is one of the most dreaded forms of behavior, since it can have widespread repercussions upon the safety, as well as upon the financial resources, of the whole community.

865 The foregoing might lead one to expect a considerable amount of hitting and scuffling among young children. Actually it is relatively rare. When small children come into conflict, usually over food or some possession either seized or not shared, the commonest form of aggressive assertion is a slyly administered pinch, in which a bit of flesh is caught between the nails of the thumb and forefinger and then twisted. The aggressor usually takes to his heels after such an attack. This behavior is probably the result of parental training. A child who strikes other children will be slapped in return by his adult kin, so that even small children learn very soon to resort to subterfuge.

855 Frightening children is also a favorite device, used especially by adults who are not the child's most immediate kin. For instance, a five-year-old boy was watching a mechanical toy roll toward him on my verandah. He watched with the greatest interest and calm until a young man began yelling excitedly at him, saying it would bite. The older children joined in the yelling, all of which sent the child into a spasm of fear that amused the group highly. Constant threats, accompanied by the brandishing of a knife, are made to cut off children's ears or hands. The adult is playful in his intentions, but some children are seriously frightened by this form of teasing. Children who cry persistently are
 [865] frightened with bogeyman characters called Kwokamaug Berka (bad cat of Kwo), Maniakani (black Mani), and Padahavelulua. The usual phrase employed is, "If you are not careful, Padahavelulua will come and hit you."

539 passing by, and the father sent the girls up into the house to borrow fire. Pada refused at first to let the girls come in, but they insisted. When they returned, they said the young man was naked but that his face resembled their father's. So the father gave Pada a loincloth and then insisted that he marry the two daughters.

Again the rooster told Pada where his grandmother had hidden mokes, so that he was able to pay a bride-price. Next Pada wished to build his lineage house. When he gave the feast for thatching the house, his father, mother, and grandmother came. As they left he presented each with a bamboo tube of blood sausage and a basket of rice. However, when the three stopped to eat on their way home, the mother and father on splitting open their tubes found them filled with feces and discovered that their baskets of rice held only hulls. The grandmother, however, had been given good food.

In this story a child is both deceived and deserted as a disciplinary measure. Even the kindly grandmother is unable to give him more than partial succor, and she, too, deserts him through trickery on the beach. Finally the father-in-law gives him the gift of wives, for which of course he must pay. The climax of the story is the child's revenge upon his parents and his better treatment of the kindlier grandmother.

154 This tale can be considered a projection of the inconsistency of
539 discipline and consequently the reluctance to accept the results of behavior. Because of the revenge motif it fails quite obviously to point the moral intended when it is told to children as a disciplinary measure. It is almost as if a fantasy compensating for childhood difficulties outweighed the adult responsibility for discipline.

865 There are many other minor devices used to frighten small children, especially to make them stop crying, since during early childhood crying is one of the major problems confronting parents. One such device is a small crude doll representing a warrior with drawn bow. It may be hung under the eaves of a house and whenever a child cries excessively, its mother or grandmother threatens it by saying, "The killer on the verandah will shoot you."

This account would be unduly biased if I gave the impression that only frightening and punishing are used to stop children's crying. The autobiographies provide instances in which crying children are consoled with small gifts, usually food. I have seen a thirteen-year-old boy give a rat to an unrelated child of two to stop its crying after I had taken a toy doll from it. The point to be made once more is not that

861 children are treated with consistent harshness, but rather that either harshness or indulgence may be used in an attempt to quiet them, with

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the result that the young child can never establish a clear image of punishment for "being bad" or reward for "being good." It is just as likely as not to be rewarded for the "badness" of excessive crying.

TANTRUMS

From even such a brief description any child psychologist should be able to prognosticate one of the outstanding and striking forms of emotional expression in the early childhood of the Atimelanger—the temper tantrum. Rages are so consistent, so widespread, and of such long duration among young children that they were one of my first and most striking observations. A common cause of tantrums is desertion—more specifically the departure of the mother for the fields each morning.

For instance, one child, a little boy of approximately two years who was under observation over a period of nine months, had a violent rage every morning when his mother left. His paroxysms lasted from a few minutes to as many as twenty. He would begin by pursuing his mother; then as she outstripped him he would throw himself on the ground, roll back and forth, and often beat his head on the earth. His mother's reaction was typical in its inconsistency. On successive days I have noted her ignore him, return to comfort him, return to slap him, and return pretending to stay for the day, only to slip away when he had been diverted.

Very rarely is a reward for being good promised a child, and more rarely still is the promise kept. This means that children do not learn to place confidence in words. This, in turn, should slow down the learning process by reducing the use of language as a short cut to incentive and performance. Later in life, when the children are capable of performing real services, they are rewarded more frequently, but by then the reward is in the nature of an economic transaction and one in which the child has no bargaining power.

A clear example of the needs of early childhood and the uncertainties of the person on whom the child depends for its gratifications, is found in a series of statements taken from Tilapada's autobiography. The naïve implications of her account of caring for Maliema, a younger sister, are perhaps more telling than the statements themselves.

"On the way [to the fields] Maliema cried a lot, so I put her down and slapped her. Then I talked nicely to her, and we went on when she was quiet. . . . When Maliema was a little older, she would cry to go to the fields with me. If I was not angry with her, I would take her along to dig sweet potatoes. I would give her the big ones and keep the

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855 small ones. . . . [I was angry] because she was always crying. She
 865 cried to go places; she cried to be fed. I hit her on the head with my
 knuckles, and then I would feed her. She cried because she was hun-
 gry."

855 This passage brings out nicely the two major causes of children's
 861 distress: hunger and desertion. Just as clearly, it demonstrates the incon-
 155 sistency of treatment and the restrictive quality of the discipline that
 pervades the child's life and which might well be expected to breed in it
 a sense of bewildered insecurity and suspicious distrust. That a child
 may be placated and indulged one moment and struck or deserted in the
 next can scarcely create an image of a secure outer world.

855 In many instances when children under five years cried, it was ow-
 865 ing to desertion by an adult—in many cases the mother. Comparable
 rages may occur before the walking stage, but none came to my atten-
 tion, although infants in arms cried frequently enough when ill or ap-
 parently hungry. The tantrums usually disappear before the child is
 five, but there were at least two cases in which boys between the ages
 of seven and nine still had acute rages whenever they found themselves
 deserted. Many such outbursts are provoked by the parents' slipping
 out to attend all-night dances.

855 An important subject in any discussion of childhood is the sense of
 858 being valued, which may or may not be imparted to children by their
 cultural and familial environment. There are many opportunities for
 small children in Atimelang to gain a sense of being valued, but like the
 discipline, these must be bewildering in their inconsistency. At the end
 of the afternoon, when people are returning to the village for the eve-
 ning meal and stop at the dance place for an hour or so of gossip and
 socializing, the young walkers playing there may be the center of
 amused and affectionate attention. I have seen three or four toddlers
 1862 who were attempting to imitate adult circle dances or male challenge
 gestures hold the attention of a large group of adults, who encouraged
 them and laughed with, rather than at, them. This of course was a sud-
 den surfeit of attention and approval in contrast to the day of neglect
 which the child might just have spent. It represents also one of the few
 cases of constructive teaching, outside of purely physiological controls,
 that I saw adults give children.

593 Another experience that many children may have and one that all
 586 children can witness is quarrels between parents in which the children
 153 themselves are often the pawns. There was the case of Talfani, for in-
 stance, a three-year-old girl whose mother and father were threatening to
 divorce each other. In the course of an all-day quarrel the wife's ma-

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of the less desirable portions of the animal to roast on the spot. Rat [224] hunting, in which a group of boys assist grown men, is another source 855 of food. The rats are often roasted in the fields where they are caught, 857 and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less desirable [267] parts. It is noteworthy that there is no institutionalized recognition of a boy's first success in hunting, as there is among many peoples. If a boy is praised at all for his successes, it is only because an indulgent adult happens to take notice of them. In any event, the procuring of the day's food is as precarious and inconsistent as the administering of discipline. Furthermore, the food secured is of the less choice kind, a factor [55] which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child a feeling of being undervalued. It is certainly not without significance that in an autobiography like Malelaka's, where he frequently stresses the good treatment he received as a child, good treatment meant being given food. It indicates that feeding is not something a child expects as a matter of course.

There is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is 857 neither so long nor so free. They are more closely attached to their mothers and have more demands made upon them in terms of their adult role as providers for the family. Weaving baskets, sewing pandanus mats, and making bark cloth are additional skills deliberately [66] taught girls at this time by their mothers. I knew only one woman, an orphan, who did not know how to make baskets. Interestingly enough, many boys also pick up these skills to a minor degree, but without deliberate instruction.

Girls frequently go out to the fields to work with their mothers or 855 with companions. Also, women are responsible for harvesting and pre-857 paring food. By the time a little girl is nine or ten years old, she can 153 cook for the ordinary family needs. She therefore has more regular access to food. I know of no instances in which little girls were guilty of pilfering from gardens, although accusations to this effect were sometimes leveled at them. Such charges, on the other hand, gave rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. This does not mean, of course, that adult women do not steal, but one might expect a higher frequency of thefts by men than by women. Out of twenty-four theft anecdotes twenty-one apply to men. In the autobiographies there are eighteen [865] identifiable cases of theft; sixteen of these were reported by the men.

Although a girl has more regular access to food she does not have 855 the guest privileges of the small boy. She gets no presents during butch-563 ering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to remember her and give her a bit of meat. The meat at feasts is always

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succession. They beat pieces of wood representing gongs. They organ- 357
ize dances comparable to those of adults, in which they compose verses.
This versifying provokes good-natured ridicule among their elders. In
their play with bows and arrows boys learn skill in hunting. They even
organize mock war between villages, in which they shoot blunt ar-
rows, throw stones, and hurl obscene insults that most adult men would
never use unless they were in an uncontrollable rage. The part boys
play in rat hunting, house thatching, and comparable male activities is
on a voluntary basis and is usually joyously entered into as long as they
are in the mood for it.

In most instances, boys are not counted on to render valuable serv- [55 f]
ices. Not until they are thirteen or fourteen are they considered old 353
enough to be sent on financial errands. It is a source of considerable 367
pride at this age to be given these assignments, and most boys seem to
carry them out willingly enough. However, in one instance that came
to my notice this was not the case. Nicolas ordered a half brother to
leave early the following morning for a village about a mile away
to fetch a sword that had been promised him. When the boy failed to
set out the following morning and seemed unwilling to go, Nicolas
flew into a rage and began pursuing him with a length of liana about as
thick as his wrist. The boy stumbled and fell, whereupon Nicolas stood
over him and beat him unmercifully. Although Nicolas' behavior was
censured by the men present, none of them made any move to inter-
fere. At last a distant kinswoman tried to drag the boy away from the
rain of blows, but she did not try to stop Nicolas himself. Again there [365] ●
is the picture of restrictive discipline, sometimes brutal in quality, but
no attempt to train the young through permissive attitudes.

On the whole, my impression is that children, in their curiosity and 357
eagerness about the life around them, more often than not participate in 358
adult activities. Depending on their effectiveness in a particular situa-
tion, they are either utilized or driven off. From the adult's viewpoint,
children are welcome when useful, ignored when not, and chased away
when nonfunctionally obtrusive.

Children are held responsible for their misdeeds, however. One dra- 361
matic case of this sort is worth repeating in some detail. The hero- 358
victim of the episode was a boy about thirteen who was generally 672
known by his nickname, Red Eyes—a name that is about the equiva-
lent of our "Spitfire." Red Eyes was the ringleader of a play group of
boys whose ages ranged from about seven to fifteen years. The tumu-
kun had a guest in his household who happened to stroll past the place
where the boys were playing. For no determinable reason Red Eyes

577 that I planned to leave in two months, it was commonly assumed that I
181 was deceiving them. Only actual preparations convinced them. In fact, Fantan the Interpreter, who insisted that I really meant to leave, was reprimanded by an older man with the comment, "Don't talk that way; we don't know what people have in their hearts."

577 Some of the verbal expressions that imply deception are: *ful batol*,
[192] to persuade with false promises; *-kol*, to prevaricate; *-kora*, to deceive with threats or intent to frighten; *likda*, to slant (distort) meaning, to speak crookedly; *rimsa*, to turn (a person) by false acts or words; *tesai-akda*, to deceive with false promises, especially in finance; *tsai tanga*, to talk at random without regard for truth; *-ware*, to deny falsely. This is by no means an exhaustive list of the terms for deception. The pattern of mistrusting spoken statements, which a child learns to his cost early in life, persists throughout adult experiences and reaches its fullest expression, as we shall see later, in the prestige-weighted area of finance.

- 865 In early childhood, the reader will recall, fright was one of the disciplinary techniques used to bring young children into social alignment.
- 567 Use of this device continues in late childhood. Obviously, however,
- 855 bogeyman stories and threats of that kind are no longer effective. Formerly the greatest threat of later childhood was probably a type of
- [646] slavery to which the Netherlands government put a stop approximately twenty years ago. This custom was in all likelihood not of very frequent occurrence, but there are several accounts of children's being bought and sold by people from Atimelang, so that the practice must have been common enough to prove a constant threat to the children of the community. A child who proved incorrigible was liable to be stolen and sold. The offenses considered severe enough for such retribution were incessant thieving and constant quarreling that involved blows and insults.

This treatment was most likely to be meted out to a child whose parents were either dead or of little consequence in the community. A person victimized by such a child would capture the culprit in secret and take him off to some distant village, where he was either sold outright or used in a dowry and bride-price exchange. Such children seemed usually to pass through six or seven hands in the course of a year or two, always being moved farther from their original village until finally they came to rest in some family that wanted to keep them. These slaves, whether boys or girls, were supposed to be treated as members

567 of the family, but a special term (*maiya*) was applied to them.

855 Usually a child of this kind was considered to belong to the lineage

Late Childhood

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vices with which adults protect themselves and their kin from the malignancy of such ghosts. The only person who claimed to have seen a ghost while I was in the community was a boy of thirteen.

There are also cases of frightening that belong to the category of teasing and that have nothing to do with discipline or education. A case of this sort occurred one night. It is whispered that the Hollanders' voices which travel over a single telephone wire strung along the coast are relayed by dead children whose heads the patrolling soldiers collect for the purpose. This superstition is in itself a new bit of folk belief significant of the attitude toward children. One night when a group of girls and boys under ten were walking along the trail, a grown man who had hidden behind a tree jumped out at them, yelling a curse word often employed by soldiers. The children raced home screaming with fear. Later the man who had frightened them stopped at their house and made fun of them for their terror.

Negative controls range from corporal punishment through deception, teasing, and ridicule to the inculcation of fears. Any one of these methods may be linked to another. From them the child learns not only stereotyped social attitudes but also much of the underlying pattern of human relationships.

SEX

The masturbation that little boys pursue so casually and freely during early childhood seems to disappear after the acquisition of a loincloth. At least it is no longer to be observed, and adults say that "children forget about it." I have, however, noticed young boys who have not yet quite mastered the art of tying their loincloths tugging and pulling on them in a manner suggestive of mild masturbation. There is marked modesty on the part of adults about the careful adjustment of loincloths, and as soon as a child wears his first one he begins adopting the same attitude. When a child is careless, he is laughed at and shamed by older children and adults. Within a year or two most children have learned to manage this garment. One of the acts of aggression at this stage of life, and one that may crop up under extreme provocation in adult quarrels, is ripping off the loincloth of one's opponent. Such behavior brings strong condemnation and even physical punishment from adults (see Lomani's autobiography, page 444). Some youngsters have only cast-off pieces of cloth and seem to suffer the same feeling of inadequacy and shame that ragged children experience in our culture.

Sex play during this period is frowned upon by adults, but it un-

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831 By this time other adults had come and, characteristically, entirely pre-empted the children's playthings despite my attempts to prevent it. The men's play with the doll was singularly like that of the children. The interpreter made another breast and the tumukun placed the infant in a nursing position. Then followed some horseplay between the men, in which intercourse between the dolls was suggested. The attitude of some six women who were drawn by the group of boys and men was one of surprise and amazement at the doll figures, but only one of them, a barren, "masculine" woman, picked up the larger doll and played the clown with it in a mock nursing scene. Not only did the other women not touch the dolls, but much sooner than the men they lost interest and walked off.

861 Castration threats occur but seem to be rarely employed. The cases that were reported all happened in late childhood and chiefly in connection with offenses other than sexual (see Rilpada's autobiography, page 272, and Malelaka's, page 331). It is improbable that such threats are to be considered as traumatic as they may be in our culture, where they occur in connection with sexual and excretory activities that are rigorously suppressed. Further anecdotal material on masturbation, castration, and sex play is to be found in the autobiographies.

865 Obscenity both in our terms and in Alorrese terms is not uncommon among children. To adults, obscene language from children is reprehensible and merits a scolding if it goes too far, but it is definitely not one of the major sources of friction between children and adults. The following observation indicates the freedom young children have in this respect.

196 Two little boys of seven and nine were racing about apparently having 865a very good time. The older boy began shouting "Vagina" at the younger one, apparently implying that his friend was a woman. The younger boy was answering "No, no!" each time. Finally the older boy elaborated the insult by shouting "Horse's vagina," at which the younger child redoubled his denials and the good-natured pursuit of his tormentor. Adults in the vicinity paid no attention to the children's shouting and seemed undisturbed by it.

The most common obscenity of young children, which to the Atimelanger is little more than a vulgarism, is "vagina" (*boiy*) or "your mother's vagina" (*ea boiy*). These terms also have the connotation of "to have intercourse." Adults, especially women who are given to careless speech, will use this expression frequently as an expletive of surprise. References to male and female genitals are quite freely made, and I have the impression that "evil spirit," the favorite expletive of early

Late Childhood

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childhood, is replaced in late childhood to a large extent, but not exclusively, by the words for genitals. On the other hand, it was interesting to note in the exchange of insults accompanying mock warfare between two gangs of boys the point at which adults began to feel that the children were overstepping the bounds of what might be allowed. The boys hurled the following remarks at each other without provoking comment: "Crooked neck," "Yaws buttocks," "Eat feces," "Follow your dead mother," "Soft bellies," "Swollen throats." But two insults that brought angry protest from adults were: "Sleep with your mother; your father can't," and "May you grow hair on your penis."

AGGRESSION

The decrease of obscenity in growing children is paralleled by the decrease in actual aggressions. Boys are told to become more circumspect in their language and to avoid blows. The situation is nicely summed up in a comment on an adolescent fight in which blood had been shed. The narrator finished the story with these words, "We promised not to exchange blows any more and if we fought, to fight only with words." And in order to avoid fines, words too must become more guarded as one grows older and richer. Even in fairly young boys the adult male pattern of avoiding blows begins to take effect. On the whole, I had the impression that there were far fewer physical combats among the play groups of Atimelang than among comparable groups in our schoolyards. Once when a pair of boys about thirteen and fourteen began actually hitting at each other, my camera caught what my eye failed to catch—namely, the fashion in which all the younger boys drew away from the scene in apparent fright. This, of course, is in distinct contrast to the way children in our society tend to crowd around in a circle when a fight begins.

The number of anecdotes in the autobiographies that deal with violence do not substantiate my impressionistic observations on this point. It is quite possible that adults dwell unduly in fantasy on a period that allowed freer expression of hostility.

It is interesting in this respect that the forfeit for losing games is to receive a specified number of slaps. However, despite this permissible outlet for aggression, I was struck by the casualness with which the slaps were given. Very rarely did I see either boys or girls, after winning a game of marbles or jacks for example, take vigorous advantage of this opportunity. In contrast to this should be noted the verbal aggression in a game of "hide-the-thimble." A piece of blade grass is hidden on the dance place by one player. The finder pounds the grass on a stone,

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[52] saying, "I am pounding your nose, I am pounding your mouth," and so on, enumerating all the parts of the body.

865 The picture, therefore, seems one of progressive restraint from direct aggression to verbal aggression and of decreasing freedom in verbal aggression paralleling increasing wealth. As we shall see, this situation represents training in an aspect of one of the major emotional functions of wealth in Atimelang.

154 Children may vent aggression and take revenge in the form of spite and ridicule directed toward younger children or toward helpless adults. Matingma the Crazy Woman was the butt of a good deal of ridicule from young boys, who sometimes followed her down the trail imitating her walk and commenting in loud voices on her slack breasts and her promiscuity. In the children's drawings (Chapter 21) one boy represented Matingma the Crazy Woman and Lakamsu the Simpleton walking together, to the uproarious amusement of the other children. On another day a boy of about fifteen drew Lakamsu the Simpleton while Lakamsu was present, to the victim's great discomfiture. It is worth noting that the boy later shared with Lakamsu the candy he had received in payment for his drawings. Whether this should be interpreted as a gesture of kindness or a self-imposed fine, I am at a loss to say. It is quite possible that in Alor kindness and indemnification become closely associated concepts. The system of punishing and then [55] placating a child by "speaking nicely" to it suggests that such kindness is a sort of compensation for the discipliner's own irritability, for which he feels the need to atone. It might be considered a kind of indemnification pattern, which is also found in financial relationships.

[55] The spite and revenge that children may direct toward helpless individuals is quite possibly the explanation of adult teasing of children. One can afford to be spiteful only toward people who have no redress.

861 The degrees to which adult discipline may be based on such a revenge principle is almost overtly stated in this passage from an autobiography: "Now [as in my father's day] we also talk to the small children and teach them. When we were small and didn't work, our parents took our hands and rubbed them on the ground. [This was done fairly hard and was meant to hurt.] We too educate our children in this fashion. When I didn't work in the fields, father twice had to rub my hands on the ground, and twice he had to tie my hands behind me." There is at least a modicum of moralistic hypocrisy in such a viewpoint.

There is no material indicating that a child ever turns spite or revenge inward upon itself. I know of only one brief episode in which an adult so interpreted the behavior of his child. "When I was five or six I

Late Childhood

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stuffed a pea in my ear and could not get it out. My father was angry 161
and pulled my ear for this. He said, 'Why do you stuff peas in your ear 154
in view of the fact that I don't strike you?'

No discussion of aggression would be complete without some com- 165
ments on the techniques of resistance open to children when parental
authority becomes too irksome. The most common device is to run
away, often after some act of revengeful violence. It is a common ex-
perience to see men order a play group of children to do something,
only to see the group melt away if the task promises to be unattractive.
However, the group forms as rapidly again if some pleasant activity is
suggested.

There seems always to be some kin who will offer sanctuary to a 164
child in difficulty. Just as children learn quickly enough to play one
parent off against the other, so also they learn which kin will stand up
for them when parental demands seem oppressive. The case of Ri-
pada's rebellion against duties and his mode of escape is worth noting.

"Once mother and I went to the garden; there was a large field 155
house and we lived there. One day she told me to carry Senmani [his 165
infant brother] while she worked. At noon he was hungry and wanted
to nurse. I gave him food, but he only vomited it. He cried and cried
and wouldn't stop. I cried too. Finally I went and told mother to nurse
him, but she wouldn't come. So I took Senmani into the house and laid
him down on a mat and ran off to Fola-feng. From there I shouted,
'Mother, your child sleeps in the house. If you want to care for it, good;
if you don't want to, also good. I am going to Atimelang and play.' I
went to the house of my maternal grandmother in the former Atime-
lang. . . . Mother called, 'All right, you have thrown away your
younger brother. Tomorrow you will die.' That evening mother came
to Atimelang with Senmani and gave him to my grandfather to care
for. In the morning she returned and tied my hands behind my back.
She said, 'You wear a loincloth but you aren't old enough to wear a loin-
cloth.' She took my loincloth away from me. Then my grandfather
split his shawl and gave me half for a loincloth. I said to my mother,
'You have hit me and you have taken away my loincloth. Now I don't
want to stay with you.' Then mother talked nicely to me, but I didn't
want to go back. My grandfather said, 'You hit him and opened his
loincloth, so now go cut your weeds with your right hand and care
for your infant with your left hand. Carry the child in front and your
water tubes in back.' I stayed a month with my grandfather, and then
mother came back and asked me to go home. So I did, and cared for
my younger brother."

465 This anecdote illustrates nicely that obedience is expected and that
155 disobedience will be punished. However, the child is not completely
helpless in the face of what is considered ill treatment. The possibility of
running away or of appealing to other kin in the face of difficulties is
one that persists in adulthood. It undoubtedly has much to do with the
flexibility and instability of group formations and residence in a society
571 that theoretically rests upon the solidarity of near kin and their ability
to function economically and ceremonially. It can result in some cases,
of which Mangsa is one (see his sunbiography), in extreme fluidity of
residence and opportunism in relationships. In other words, a system
of child training can set up behavior patterns that contribute to the
disruption of formal social structure and create a considerable gap be-
tween theory and practice in community life.

STATUS

157 It was suggested earlier in this chapter that boys might well derive a
835 sense of being undervalued from this lack of provision for feeding them
and from the fact that they are given less desirable portions of meat.
Teasing and ridicule as well as the casual treatment of children's prop-
erty are additional avenues for a child's acquisition of a sense of un-
worthiness. As far as boys are concerned this is to be balanced against
the fact that, in comparison with girls, they have fewer duties and hold
a relatively privileged position. The situation can be summarized by
stating that compared with men, boys are underprivileged, but com-
pared with girls, and even women, they are not.

838 However, these are not the only situations in which a child is made
to feel his status. Sometimes contemptuously and sometimes as a matter
of fact, adults say, "He is only a child; he doesn't think yet." A com-
parable comment is, "He hasn't a heart yet." *Heart* is really the equiva-
lent of "within him," so that this is a way of saying that the child is
still empty, a person without content. Perhaps one of the most telling
bits of evidence for the status of the child in the minds of adults is that
to call an adult a child (*maku*) is a great insult, because, as it was ex-
plained to me, it is the same as saying that the person knows nothing,
has nothing, and is in general a poor person of no substance.

851 Balanced against all these factors that may lead a child to acquire a
845 sense of unworthiness are certain other tendencies that might serve to
enhance the child's sense of importance. In the following chapter it is
pointed out that a man does not acquire adult status until he has chil-
dren. This is not the sole criterion of full status for a man but it is an
important one. Also, men are frequently addressed or referred to as

572 have not much to expect from parents are not likely to have their rival-
 577 ries among themselves accentuated. In Alor culture the oldest sibling
 undoubtedly has the worst time of it; he is constantly being compelled
 to take on attributes of the maternal role as soon as he is able to do so.
 Although there is no routine about it he is generally expected to
 take care of the younger siblings while the mother is tending the gar-
 dens. The natural ambivalence of siblings toward each other must
 therefore be dulled. Such rivalry as does exist is tempered by gratitude
 and by the fact that they have common enemies and grievances.

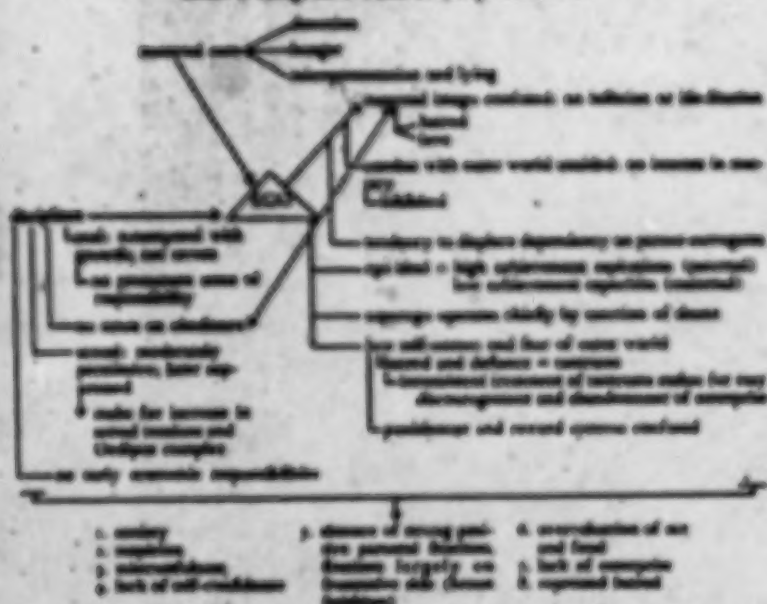
584 The picture that we get, therefore, on the disciplinary side is again
 585 one of inconsistency and confusion. Wherever the child is mistreated
 as a punitive, a circumstance which would tend to accentuate sexual
 expression as a form of compensation for other frustrations, this activ-
 ity is nevertheless later tabooed by implication or rendered impossible
 to translate into action. The situation as a whole favors a considerable
 amount of sexual repression which is undoubtedly breached in secret
 before or during puberty. From this, together with the strong motives
 for distrust and hatred of the mother and other women, we would ex-
 pect the usual disturbances of potency. Moreover, in view of the fact
 that there is no reward system and that ingratiation techniques directed
 toward the father, who is actually in possession of the family power,
 are ineffectual, we would not expect any channeling of sexual impulses
 in homosexual directions. The fact is that homosexuality as such is not
 known either among women or men. The breast retains a high eroga-
 593 tory value both to children and adults. Castration threats are known
 594 but not employed exclusively for sexual misbehavior.

596 A final point is to be noted in connection with the general attitudes
 597 toward discipline. Frustration rather than punishment is the rule. This
 frustration takes on peculiar forms. False promises, lying, and misrep-
 resentation must have consequences in at least two directions. They must
 lead first to a profound distrust of parents and elders, and secondly, to
 a lack of self-esteem. The poverty of the ego combined with depressed
 self-esteem is likely to lead to compensatory grandiosity. An additional
 factor which reinforces these attitudes is the general impersonance of
 everything, the constant change of shade that prevents the growth of a
 sense of familiarity and compels the child always to begin all over
 604 again. Perhaps the earliest expression of this anxious and helpless situa-
 605 tion in childhood is the tantrum. To be sure, this is a form of assertive-
 ness, but it is neither integrative nor constructive. (See Chart I.)

606 So far we have outlined the primary integrational units, enumerat-
 ing many factors which enter the life cycle later. Obviously, however,

Some Personality Determinants in Alevi Culture 181

Chart 1. Integrative Units of Early Childhood



Some Personality Determinants in Aloré Culture 183

It is likely that these oppor-
tunities for both sexual and sex activity prevent the aggressions of
early childhood from reaching explosive forms later.

It is not likely that the suppression imposed on overt forms of ag-
gression or the gradual diminution in the use of obscene words injures
the child in any way. However, it must be noted that the self-esteem
of the child is in no way improved over what it was earlier in child-
hood; it will remain low. The child must still have the idea that it is a
superfluous, that it is of no account, for only grudgingly is the boy
permitted to participate on the fringes of adult male activity. In the
respect the position of the girl is distinctly better, but for reasons that
we shall presently see, the prejudices accumulated in childhood do not
make the maternal role acceptable to her.

ADOLESCENCE, MARRIAGE, AND SEX

From this point on, the basic personality structure of the males and
females must be considered separately.

Induction into adulthood for the boy is not accompanied by any
severe puberty rites to mark the introduction of new and serious re-
strictions. It is not infrequently the case in societies where puberty
rites are severe that the boy is compelled to surrender certain advan-
tages of immaturity and is given new ones that he heretofore did not
enjoy. As a matter of fact, in Alor puberty does not introduce the boy
to any strikingly new experience; on the contrary, it is the beginning
of a long and arduous struggle for the achievement of manhood. The
success of this achievement is vested largely in the father, who by vir-
tue of his control over property—or of the opportunities for gaining
control over it—can indefinitely delay the boy's entrance into man-
hood. Nor is there any necessity for binding the child to any rigid
sexual taboos; these are left in the same status as in early childhood, that
is to say, sexuality, as such, is permitted, but gaining status by marriage
is rightly under control. The theoretical advantage of free sexual play is
thus actually cancelled. The situation eventually arises where the father
actually interferes, not with sexual gratification or the opportunities
therefor, but with admission to the status of marriage. (See Chart III.)

In relation to his father the boy continues to operate under a system
of coercion without rewards, notwithstanding the fact that the power
of the father is only relative and the actual control of the subsistence
economy is largely in the hands of the women. The status of the father
becomes the coveted objective of the boy.

In order to evaluate the boy's approach to a wife we must see those
integrational systems which have already been formed by the time he

Mangwa the Genealogist

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pig and a fow. Then the girl's family paid me a Kolmale (13-rapish make) for the pig I had got from Alomale.

November 26, 1938

When I was still small, I went to live in Dikimpe with Langmani [his father's first cousin]. I stood on the verandah and jumped down. I did it over and over again, shouting, "I am a rooster. I am a rooster."

I was still small and the people of Dikimpe went to make war with Ainselung; then they went to wage war with Alurkweni. The people of Dikimpe shot at Mangwa, and an arrow hit his back. They dragged him to Dikimpe and danced. They said it was as though they had taken his head. They shouted triumph (lelelele). (Mangwa laughed at this episode.)

I stayed in Dikimpe two years. Then I went to Rantsung, where my father lived. I and my older brother, Malahaka, played at war and threw cornstalks at each other. Once when I was about twelve and Malahaka was about fourteen, I was roasting corn. Malahaka told me to hurry up and take off the pot. I didn't. Malahaka snatched the pot off the fire, set it on my knee, and burned me. I cried. My father scolded Malahaka and said he was bad; when he grew up he would get no wife. Malahaka cried then, "Yeah, yeah, yeah, I am going to Fainching to live." He went and fetched some dry grass to burn down the village. I told my father he had better go out and stop him, that my wound was not so bad that he needed to stay with me. So my father went out and stopped him. The next morning my father got a plant called *shabani* and put it on my knee. All the skin had come off. After a while my wound got better.

I said to Malahaka, "We aren't friends any more. We are enemies." I threw a burning stick at Malahaka's stomach. Then I ran and climbed a tree. Malahaka took a firebrand and threw it at me. It struck my back. I cried and my father began to chase him. Malahaka ran away and went to live in Karieta. After a while, maybe a year, we both forgot our quarrel and Malahaka came back to live with us. Our parents told us to stop fighting. We went together to cut the field at Rantsung.

[Why did you go to live with Langmani in Dikimpe?] Just because I liked him, because he took good care of me. Langmani had no wife. I was like his child. I followed him around, ran errands for him, getting corn, water, fire, tobacco, or whatever he sent me for. Whatever he asked I did. I was there alone with him. Langmani said, "My older brother has many children; you come and stay with me."

I had been with Langmani a year when Rilipda's father, Padakalana,

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^x154 I snatched off the flesh so you could see the bone. [The interpreter shivered at this point.] I cried. I brushed it off. Rieman came to see and I told him that I had brushed the bat off and it must still be near. Rieman saw it in some weeds and shot it. In all we got five bats. Then Rieman helped me up to Lawatika and I stayed there overnight while the others went home. [Question.] No, I didn't dream of this afterward.

February 13, 1939

When I was about six or seven, I cried because mother said we should go to the garden and I didn't want to. So I stayed home and played with my friends in the village. In the afternoon mother brought me some corn, which I roasted and ate. Then I cried again. I cried a lot. I cried because I wanted to eat with father's guests. Mother and ^x154 father said I couldn't. The guests, they said, had to eat alone. I kept ⁵⁷⁴ crying until everyone was through eating. I cried until everyone was ⁶⁴⁵ asleep. Father woke up and heard me still crying. So father put a ⁶⁴⁷ basket over my head that reached down to my stomach. Father held me while mother poured water on my head through the basket. I was still crying hard. So mother and father talked nicely to me. They said, "When guests come, you can't eat with them. If you ate with them they wouldn't say anything here, but they would go home and say we didn't bring you up well because we let you eat with guests. We were angry with you for this reason, and for this reason we put a basket over your head and poured water on you." Then father said, "Will you act like this another time?" I was still crying under the basket and did not answer. Then father said, "Answer before I take off the basket." Then I said I wouldn't act like that again. Father said, "Next time guests come you mustn't stay near us but go with your mother." After that I stopped crying.

^x154 When I was about twelve or thirteen, father and mother went to cut weeds in Puarjari. A big rain came. We were all there with my friends. [It is customary to have a group of children help in communal ⁶⁷⁴ field work.] My friends went on working. I sat under a raincape behind the line of workers. Father was working at the end of the line. He came toward me but I did not see him. He snatched off my cape and asked why I was just sitting. He said, "When you grow up you won't be accustomed to work and you will be lazy." He took my hands and rubbed them in the dirt, saying, "Your nails are long. You are lazy." All my nails were ripped and they bled. So I cried and ran away to Alurkawati, to Kolata (his father's first wife). She said, "Maybe your mother and father have many male children, that they rub your

Lomani

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and Kawaimani wanted areca, betel, and lime to take in their baskets. ^{159x}
They didn't have real areca, so they used the bark of the mango instead. They didn't have lime, so they made ashes from bayorka bark. At night I wanted to go too, but they said they were not going to the dance, but were going to sleep. They lay down to sleep and I did too. In the middle of the night I woke up and saw they had gone, so I cried and cried. Falepang said, "Don't cry. Maniakani [the bogeyman] is near. Don't cry, or he will hear you and come." So I was afraid and went to sleep next to Falepang. At dawn my two sisters came home. I said, "Last night I cried. The next time I am going too." They said, "Don't cry; we have brought you the 'wing of the dance.'" I asked to see it, and they gave me a coconut leaf. [This was a culturally standardized deception of small children.] I said, "Oh, you have deceived me. Another time I am going. You went secretly this time, but next time I shall sit up all night if you go."

The next time there was a dance it was at Lawatika. I sat up and sat up, playing and watching those two. They didn't sleep. Finally they slipped away secretly. I cried and ran after them. Then they waited for me in the middle of the path and said, "Don't cry." They took me along. After that the three of us went to dances together.

[I asked who were her favorite sisters.] Falepang and then Kolang. If I was away playing and people gave them food, they saved some of it for me—even if I hadn't seen that they had received a gift. When I came back to the house, they would cook it for me. But mother never saved anything for me. [Kolang died when Lomani was about five or six, and Falepang when she was about eight; she was thereby deprived of her mother-substitutes.] When mother was away, Falepang was the one who took care of me. [With whom did you sleep? It would have been customary for her, as the youngest, to sleep with her mother.] When I was still very small, before I could walk or talk, I slept with mother. I don't remember that. When I was a little older, I slept with Falepang, and with mother too if she was there. When she wasn't I slept with Falepang.

[I asked how she felt about Falepang's sores.] My elder sister was always good to me, so even if she had sores I slept with her. [How long had Falepang had these sores?] When she was still small she got them. Mother said, "Your older sister has had wounds ever since she was little, and so she won't find a man." Ever since I can remember she had sores. [I asked whether she ever contracted the disease.] When I was still with my family I didn't get sores, but after I went to stay with my

Kolangkalieta

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Letma. We had a small field house there. We were sitting there, mother [59^x and I, when mother suddenly gave birth to the baby. [How did you feel about it?] I was glad to see a younger sibling. [Was your mother sick?] Yes, but mother was adding to us, and I was glad. [Age?] I was about ten or eleven then.

A little later father left to work in another rice field, near Talmang. Mother and I stayed home with Mailang. Mailang developed a fever, and I went all alone to Talmang to call father. The baby's soul had followed father to Talmang, where father was threshing rice. The baby was sick because father was working. Father took some of the first rice he had threshed, told it not to make the child sick, and then threw it away. After that the baby got well.

[Why do you not remember the birth of Manilang?] That happened at Sungfalak. I was little and didn't see it. I was in the house, but it was at night and I was asleep. When I awoke I saw mother was holding a new baby. [Were you surprised?] I don't remember clearly. Yes, I guess I was surprised. [Had you stopped nursing at that time?] I don't remember nursing. I think I had long ago forgotten the breast. [Who cared for you most?] Father was the one who cared for me. When Manilang was born, Tilaleti cared for him. When Mailang was born, I was big enough to care for him.

March 29, 1939

I didn't dream last night.

When I was about eight years old, my mother and father went to Kalmati to help cut the beams of our lineage house. I took care of Mailang. He cried and cried. Toward evening we sat watching the path for our parents to return. They didn't come, so we began to cry and cry. Then Lakakalieta [her mother's older brother] went to the privy, took up some dried feces, and put it in Mailang's mouth. We [66⁵] said, "Don't. You must not do this." But he did anyhow. He said, "This child cries a great deal. This will make him stop." It was dark and mother and father had not come. Finally we went in the house to sleep. The next day it was noon before they came home. We said, "Mother, you have been gone a long time. Your breasts must be swollen and painful. You had better be nice to our younger brother and nurse him." [She stopped. I asked if they told their mother about the feces episode.] Yes, I told mother, but she said, "Your younger brother cried a great deal. That was all right to do."

After that people gave a death feast for my maternal grandmother at Waiafeng. We all went there for the feast.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND PERSONALITY

155 The inconsistent and restrictive quality of discipline which pervades the child's life
 152 might well be expected to breed in it a sense of insecurity and suspicious distrust. It has at
 885 its disposal only one weapon with which to meet frustration and that is rage. The alternative
 idea of being good in order to gain one's ends is not presented to the child. But that rage
 is an ineffectual weapon is learned at very latest during the first decade of life.

155 While the child is discovering the futility of protest, he is also discovering his own re-
 868 sources. He may expect his mother to prepare a morning meal at about seven o'clock and an-
 866 other at about the same time in the evening. During the intervening twelve hours he learns
 to forage for himself. He learns this from five or six onward in the fluid play groups of free
 129 roving children. Remnants may be scraped from the cooking pot. A variety of insects usually
 scorned by adults can be found. In the fields near the village are mangoes, bananas,
 sweet potatoes, young corn, and squash. They can be eaten raw or easily cooked. As a rule
 adults do not object to the minor depredations of their own children or their playmates, but
 if the raiding is too constant or if the crop is scarce, children may be scolded for it. Such ob-
 jections are most apt to be voiced when children are reaching the age at which their labor
 might be expected and is not forthcoming. There are several anecdotes of reprimands on this
 score, and in one instance a mother and half-grown son came to blows over the matter. But
 155 an additional factor in adult objections to children using garden crops too freely is that it
 598 may actually disrupt friendships between age-mates. Mangnia, in his autobiography, gives
 862 several such anecdotes, one of which is quoted below.
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Mangnia said, "Let us go to the fields to dig sweet potatoes." My mother and father were
 away and I was hungry. For a month we played together going every day to dig sweet potatoes.
 But his mother was angry because we went to her garden to dig them. So after that first day we
 always went to my garden to dig them. Then my potatoes were finished. I was angry because we
 always went to my garden. I said to him, "You have lots of potatoes but we only went once to your
 garden and your mother was angry. Now you have many and you can't come to dig mine any more."
 I splashed water on him. Mangnia said we would not play together any more.

Parental objections also pave the way for the thieving in which play groups of boys fre-
 quently indulge. The whole system of feeding reinforces one of the marked intracultural
 tensions centering on theft and fear of theft.

155 During this preadolescent play period boys may get occasional meals as guests. When an
 574 adult man visits a house in which a woman is at home, it is customary to set a calabash of
 859 food before him and any little boys who are about are invited to join him. Little boys very
 855 soon learn to attach themselves to any man who seems to be setting out on a "business" trip
 and in this way undoubtedly learn a great deal of the role expected of them as adults. Hun-
 ger is a motivation which leads to the acquisition of adult male skills. Little girls are not fed
 on these occasions, except rarely when they pick up a bit of food on the side while it is being
 prepared. There are still other sources of food available to small boys. During feasts those
 who help with the butchering are given the entrails or other less desirable bits of the pig to
 roast on the spot. Rat hunting, in which several boys assist a grown man or two, is another